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THE TRUE METHOD

OF

Studying and Teaching

HISTORY,

BY AMOS DEAN.

THE TRUE METHOD

OF

STUDYING AND TEACHING

History:

A PAPER

READ BEFORE THE AMERICAN ASSOCIATION FOR THE ADVANCEMENT OF EDUCATION,

AT ITS ANNUAL SESSION IN THE CITY OF ALBANY,

On the 5th August, 1857.

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BY AMOS DEAN.

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EXPLANATORY NOTE.

THE subjects embraced in the following paper, and in the order therein stated, have, for many years, occupied the attention of the writer. He has long felt convinced that a profound order, a regular plan, a comprehensive system, lay at the foundation of History; and that its discovery and development would reward the labors of patient industry and long continued research and investigation. He has availed himself of the invitation of the Standing Committee of the American Association for the Advancement of Education to present the following as what he deems the true method of unfolding and developing this order, plan and system.

His object in presenting it at this time has been, in part, to guide the studies of those who are arming themselves for the conflicts of the present and future by acquiring a thorough knowledge of the past, but more especially to direct the attention of thinking men to a UNIVERSITY DEPARTMENT, in which the methodical, systematic teaching of History, as a comprehensive whole, should have all the prominence which its vast importance demands.

It is obvious that the establishment of a State or National University has, for some time past, claimed a large share of the attention of the leading minds of this state and nation. Efforts for that purpose, thus far entirely successful, have been, and are still, making in the city of Albany; the movements of several colleges, Brown, Harvard, Yale, Union, and, more recently still, Columbia, are being in that direction; and lastly, the Regents of the University of this state are taking im-

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portant action in the matter. Since the preparation of this paper, the writer has been happy to find that the plan of a University, as proposed by the Hon. ERASTUS C. BENEDICT, in his late able report to the Regents of the University, embraces a Faculty covering essentially the ground here proposed. While this great subject is so universally agitated in this country, and is everywhere undergoing such general discussion, it is thought that suggestions relative to a department, and the method of study and teaching therein, might not be inappropriate. The writer has also one further object in view, and that is to state the plan or method which, if circumstances shall favor it, he designs to pursue in the Department of History of the State University of Iowa.

THE TRUE METHOD

OF

STUDYING AND TEACHING HISTORY.

"HISTORY," says Lord Bolingbroke, "is *philosophy teaching by examples.*" But I apprehend the "examples" must have some higher warrant for their occurrence than simply philosophy. I would rather define it to be *God teaching by examples*, for God is, in history alike as in the workings of inanimate nature, carrying out his plans and purposes through laws which he ordains and enforces.

The present mode of studying and teaching history seems to me far more unsatisfactory than that adopted in reference to any other branch of human knowledge. It is faulty in at least two important respects:

First. Very many historical works are far from being entirely truthful in all their statements. Independent of personal and party biases and predilections, tending to pervert the truth of history, many supply by imagination what they deem wanting in fact to interest; while others gratify the love of the marvelous by

relating tales and fictions which may amuse though they fail to instruct.

The *second* and greatest difficulty lies in the character of the facts themselves that are brought down to us by the ordinary course of history. What is the great burden of its story? Changes and revolutions in governments — heroic conduct of individuals — plots and conspiracies — rebellions, successful and unsuccessful — wars, with their bloody accompaniments of battles and sieges — the assault and the blockade — all acts of violence, individual and national — these, and such like are mainly the subjects that fill up its record. It rarely condescends to detail the industrial pursuits of a people; to give their religious beliefs and forms of worship; to exhibit their government and jurisprudence; or to present their manners and customs, their philosophy or their arts. All these are less striking in their character; less marked in their attributes; less palpable in their effects; and furnish less food for the marvelous in our nature.

The great difficulty seems to be, that the out-goings of human nature, in history, are studied more in their wonder-workings than in their ordinary quiet exhibitions; more in their abnormal conditions than in their normal state. It is much the same as studying the river in its cataracts; the ocean in its storms; the wind in its tornadoes; the functions of the human organs in a raging fever; the muscles in their spasms; or geology in its rocky upheavals. The river has its quiet flow

as well as its cataracts; the ocean its calm as well as its storms; the wind its soft breathings as well as its tornadoes; the human organs their harmony of function as well as febrile excitement; the muscles their natural contractions as well as spasms; and geology its slow depositions of strata as well as violent upheavals.

I understand history to be a *record of human progress*, and I would study and teach it:

1. In the evidences upon which its revelations rest.
2. In certain great principles that lie at the foundation of all historical development.

First. The revelations of history rest mainly upon three sources of evidence, *the monument*, *the man*, *the written record*. In passing around the head of the Mediterranean sea we find ourselves successively in the primitive homes of each one of these sources. Egypt gives us the monument, Arabia the man, and Phœnicia the written record.

Egypt is peculiarly the land of the monument. The pyramid there towers aloft in its solemn grandeur, the temple presents its forest of columns, the palace its massive architecture, and the catacomb speaks after its silence of centuries. What high promptings must have stirred the minds of those primitive fathers of human industry and art to lead them to the performance of those gigantic labors that have enabled the world in its infancy to speak to the world in its maturity.

But the Nilotic valley is not alone the home of the monument. That elder civilization that once held dominion on the banks of the Euphrates, the Tigris, the Choaspes and the Araxes, is now being proclaimed to us through the monuments of Babylon, of Nineveh, of Susa and Persepolis. These lead us towards the orient. But in reversing our course and traveling towards the occident, we encounter in Greece and Italy the old ruins of Lycosura, of Tiryns, of Norba, and of many other cities; the remains of that cyclopian architecture that marks the pathway of the Pelasgi.

Nor should we here be unmindful of that ancient race, who may be traced, by a line of ramparts and tumuli, through the passes of the Caucasus into Siberia; and along its southern mountains from the Tobol to the Yeniseï and the steppes of the middle regions of the Lena, by ruins of towns and tumuli, sepulchres, vessels, diadems, weapons, trophies, coins of gold, silver and copper; across Behring's Straits and down the great valley of the Mississippi, even as far as Mexico and Peru; scattering, all along, their mounds, ramparts, tumuli and pyramids, thus almost literally girdling the globe with their mural monuments.

In passing from Egypt into Arabia, we find ourselves also, in one sense, in a land of monuments, but its monuments are men. Man is there monumental, because he is unchanged. The Bedouin of the Desert and the rocky Arabia possesses the same general fea-

tures, traits of character, modes of life and civilization, that were in ancient times possessed by the immediate decendants of Ishmael. The Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian civilizations have traveled by him on their journey westward; while the Egyptian, Hebrew, Phœnician, Grecian and Roman have, for ages, hovered around him; and yet he has remained the same. The manners, customs, forms of intercourse, social habits and modes of life that belonged to the early patriarchs are yet to be seen impressed upon the living page of Arabian being. Man has there no institutions, but he is himself an institution. He has no history, but he is himself a record.

In passing into Phœnicia we find the home of the written record — the alphabetic character — without which man could be little more than the mere creature of the present.

Second. The great principles that lie at the foundation of all historical development. What are they? They are all those included, respectively, in what I term the six elements of humanity. These are: 1. Industry; 2. Religion; 3. Government; 4. Society; 5. Philosophy; and, 6. Art. These are so many vast organizing forces, that, together, embrace and exhaust all there is of human power, energy and activity; no matter whether it feels or thinks in the mind, or thrills in the nerve, or is developed in the muscle.

Each one of these elements has its own proper foundation, its own embodiment and culminating point.

Industry is founded upon the *useful.* It is embodied in the various industrial pursuits of a people. It culminates in the science of political economy. Its destiny is to satisfy man's physical wants.

Religion is founded upon the *holy* and *divine.* It is embodied in all the various forms of worship. It culminates in theology. Its destiny is to satisfy the wants of the soul.

Government is founded upon the *just.* It is embodied in the different governmental forms and systems of jurisprudence. It culminates in the state. It results in the enforcement of order.

Society is founded upon the *agreeable.* It is embodied in the manners and customs of a people. It culminates in the principles of politeness. Its mission is to gratify the social instinct.

Philosophy is based upon the *true in itself.* Its embodiment is in the people's thought and systems of philosophy. It culminates in the pure intellect.

Art is founded upon the *beautiful* and *sublime.* It is embodied in thought realized in some form of beauty and sublimity. It culminates in the ideal.

These elements are to be considered:

1. In their separation from each other.
2. In their development.

It is only in the separate, distinct and uncombined action of each one of these elements that we can expect to witness the gradual development of its intrinsic perfections. To accomplish this separation and development requires the exercise of every active principle of our nature.

The first great epoch in the history of man exhibits these elements in a state of combination. The historical drama opens in Asia. There we behold the infancy of man; and there that infancy still continues. All the elements are there enveloped in each other, or so intimately blended together as to preclude the action of each without rendering necessary that of all.

This envelopment, or intimate blending of the elements, is attested by all the important phenomena that have been observed in Asia; excluding, however, from that term, the regions more immediately bordering upon the Caspian, Black and Mediterranean seas, which, in their physical character, are more strictly European than Asiatic.

The specimens of art exhibited in Asia are so indefinite in outline, so general in character, so deficient in just proportion, as to indicate a still indissoluble union between the arts and their associate elements; witness, for instance, the strange, uncouth and gigantic figures that are to be found in the rock temples of Elephanta and Ellora in India.

The dictates of the religion, the maxims of the despotic government, the precepts of the morality,

the spirit of society trameled by caste, the deductions of the philosophy of the east, equally with the specimens of art, are all in strict unison with each other, and exclude the idea that there is between them any line of separation.

This state of envelopment or intimate union seems, therefore, to be the condition under which the existence of man is given in Asia. This condition has stamped one peculiar feature upon this primitive epoch in our history, and that is, mental inaction, profound repose, a destitution of well directed physical effort.

To these the local peculiarities of Asia strongly conduce. Its centre is one immense continuous plateau of elevated land. The intense heat at the south tends to divest the human frame of its energy and the mental and moral fabric of its power.

The events brought down to us by history have mostly transpired within the temperate zones. In Asia there is no temperate zone. The regions of fire and frost there border upon each other. At the foot of the Himaleh you are scorched by a torrid sun. Ascend their steep acclivities, and you stand on the immense plateau of Central Asia, directly within the sphere and influence of the northern polar sanctuaries.

Many of the institutions of Asia, particularly of the southern part, come in aid of these local peculiarities. The government is, in the extremest degree, despotic; fettering body, mind and soul. Society has distributed mankind into castes, and thus transformed the entire social fabric into a bed of Procrustes.

The religion and morality of Southern Asia, more particularly of India, both lead to the same general inaction. What is its religion? A deformed theology, absorbing everything into itself; allowing man no part to perform but that of a mere machine, and leaving it indifferent in the great system of things whether even that part be or be not performed by him.

What is its morality? That, also, inspires repose. It teaches man if action be necessary, to act as though he acted not; to act with a profound indifference to all its results: that, whether he acted or not, the eternal principle that creates, and modifies, and renews, and sustains all things, would be still the same.

Under these combined influences, man, in Asia, has ever remained the same. We have seen him exhibiting no striking evidences of mental or moral advancement; bequeathing us no important discoveries in science or art; handing down to us no trophies of his victories over the elements of nature. Exclusive of what foreign agency has effected, when have we ever witnessed an alteration in the manners, customs, laws or institutions of Southern, Eastern or Central Asia? The sun that has gladdened this day has risen upon the same, with few or no modifications, that were dawned upon by the sun of Zoroaster.

Centuries have there come and gone and left no impress. Let foreign influence and agency cease to operate and they never will leave any. As soon may we expect to see the Egyptian mummy bursting the

cerements of its sepulchre and displaying anew the energies of a life long lost, as to witness the Asiatic competing with the European or American in the actings and doings of this world.

Industry, Religion, Government, Society, Philosophy and Art there form one mingled mass. No attempt at separation—no effort at development, except in combination. We see everywhere exhibited the same dull, dead uniformity; the same Sahara of the mental and moral world.

In this primitive epoch we are led to contemplate one great exhibition of human nature. We see it presenting one strong, peculiar characteristic—that of inaction—arising from the envelopment or intimate commingling of all its elements.

Let us now mark their successive separation. All rational existence is given subject to one condition, to the operation of one uniform law—the law of progression. The man must walk forth from the boy; the civilized from the savage. The man advances by a successive separation and development of his powers; humanity, by a successive separation and development of her elements.

In the opening of a new epoch, to be influenced by a new spirit, we are to view man under a different aspect. We are to proceed from inertia to action; from where man was nothing to where he is everything; from despotism to democracy; from union to separation; from envelopment to development; from Asia to Greece.

This new epoch required a new theatre of action. It found one in the mildness of a Grecian sky; in the balm of a Grecian atmosphere; in the variegated beauties of a Grecian landscape; in the diversified qualities of a Grecian soil. The mountain, the stream, the bay, the harbor, unproductive Attica and fruitful Messenia, all furnished motives for action. Man did act, and thus became acquainted with his own powers and the extraordinary faculties with which God had endowed him. Here, for the first time, the important secret was discovered, that, in the inventory of the universe, man forms an item of value. The high estimation in which he here held himself is inferable from the fact that he has invested his very gods with human attributes. He has transferred his own nature to his own heavens, and admired, and loved, and feared its display in the wisdom of his Pallas; in the loves of his Venus; in the valor of his Mars; in the thunders of his Jupiter.

The spirit actuating the movements of the Greek and Roman was essentially the same, so that both really form but one epoch. In the government of Rome we perceive more clearly developed the aristocratic feature. To that undoubtedly is owing the greater permanence of its institutions.

In Greece and Rome human elements strongly tended to separation and development. Industry, Religion, Government, Society, Philosophy and Art no longer form, as they did in Asia, one commingled

mass. Society, Philosophy and Art here achieve their enfranchisement.

The first, escaped from the dominion of caste, asserts its own prerogatives. It claims and exercises the right of yielding obedience to its own laws, and of being governed upon its own principles. It annexes to its decrees its own sanction, and visits its members with its own joyous approval, or lays upon them the weight of a blasted name.

The enfranchisement of Philosophy was still more important. The very point of separation is the centre of a deep feeling, of an intense interest. That point was sealed with the blood of a Socrates. In him Philosophy first awoke to a knowledge and comprehension of itself. It afterwards investigated earth and its productions in the researches of its Aristotle. It ascended to the source of things in the splendid idealism of its Plato.

Art, liberated from its fetters, and encouraged in its efforts, here brings forth its choicest products. This is, in fact, the crowning element of Grecian civilization. Its charm has never vanished from the world. Its spell has never been broken. It has aided in sustaining civilization in its most fearful extremity; and in every age and clime, where it has become known, it has awoke in the human mind a sense of the beautiful, and kindled in the human soul a love of the ideal. To the eye it has presented its forms of peerless beauty as they glow on the canvass of Apelles, or stand forth

in the marble of Phidias; while on the ear has fallen its full diapason, mingling the song of Sophocles and Euripides with the thunder tones of Demosthenes.

The remaining elements, Industry, Government and Religion, were still intimately blended together. A successive separation was necessary, for the purpose of allowing each an opportunity of being developed, or carried out into all its possible applications.

Of these yet enveloped elements that of Government, or the State, was predominant. It was the central element of the Greek and Roman movement. Around this, as a nucleus, gathered all the others. To strengthen the patriotic love of country, Industry lent its application; Religion its inspiration; Society its warm approvals; Philosophy its deductions; and Art its glowing canvass and chiseled monument.

The Greek formed a part of his state. Its acts were, therefore, to some extent, his acts. To him that state was the world. To it belonged the dawn of his infancy, the bloom of his youth, the vigor of his manhood, the decay of his age. Had he affections? that was their centre. Had he powers of action? that furnished motives for their exercise. To him it embodied all that was beautiful, all that was interesting, all that was lovely, all that was worth living for, all that was worth dying for. Beneath him was the Grecian soil; around him were Grecian monuments; above him the abodes of Grecian gods.

Individual worth, during this epoch, is estimated from the extent of individual sacrifice. The nation is the actor. The wave of Salamis; the Straits of Thermopylæ; the plain of Marathon; the field of Cannæ; Carthage in ashes; a demolished empire; a subjugated world, attest the energy of its action.

The existence of the individual is here merged in that of his nation. It is *that* that inscribes its achievements in living lines on this page of the history of our race; investing this epoch with a nationality, rather than an individuality of character; rendering it resplendent from the display of national glory, imposing from the exhibition of national power.

In central, northern and western Europe we are to find that portion of our world's surface devoted to a new epoch, characterized by the movement of a new spirit. This region of country, in its physical aspects, its mountain, valley, river and ocean scenery; and in those arrangements which facilitate intercourse and naturally lead to commercial exchanges, bears nearly the same relation to the eastern continent that Greece does to Europe.

In the preceding epoch we had seen Society, Philosophy and Art separated from the other elements, and, to a very considerable extent, developed by the Greek and Roman spirit. We had seen Industry, Government, and Religion still bound together by the ties of a strong, and seemingly indissoluble union.

In the epoch to which we have now arrived, we are to witness the efforts of Industry in effecting its separation from the remaining primary elements, and its consequent development, leaving only Government and Religion in a state of combination. This effort of Industry in effecting its enfranchisement brings more strongly into view the powers and energies of man as an individual, and from their freedom and vigor in action arises the distinctive spirit of this epoch.

This truth is deeply engraven on every page of European history. It is told in the insubordination of its earlier periods; in the anarchy of the middle ages; in the necessity that originated the feudal system; even in the very essentials of that system itself; in the curious institution of chivalry; in that wide spread movement, the crusades; in the origin and triumphant success, during the middle ages, of numerous free commercial cities; and finally in the creation of the middle class, the third estate, the commons, whose voice has been heard with varying power in the Diets of Germany, the Cortes of Spain, the States-General of France, and the Parliament of England; whose terrible energies, roused into fearful activity, have more than once surrounded Italy, Germany and France with all the horrors of revolution, while in the British Isles, having attained their political supremacy, they are swaying the sceptre of universal empire under the guaranties of the British constitution. True, this spirit has been both warlike and peaceful; at one time appeal-

ing to the sword as the sovereign arbiter of individual right; at another, pursuing the even tenor of its way under the quiet sanction of law. It was nevertheless the same spirit still. Its achievements in all the departments of industry, as well as in philosophy and in art, are numerous and important. The inventions, the discoveries of modern times, all stand its debtors. It has pervaded space, sought an acquaintance with other orbs, followed the trackless course of the comet in its wanderings, and brought back intelligence from the very outposts of creation. In the sciences that instruct, in the arts that refine, it is conspicuous. It has demanded of the material world the elements that compose it; the manner of their combination, the mode of their action. It has sought a familiar acquaintance with the laws of life, the subtleties of organization, the main facts of existence. It has penetrated the deepest recesses of mind, investigated its powers, classified its faculties, and explained their modes of operation. It has been active in agricultural pursuits, in the mechanic arts and inventions, in the direction of human industry into every possible available channel. It has instituted commercial relations, and connected together the human family by the mutual ties of a common intercourse. It has acquired a mastery over physical nature, and compelled the very elements to labor for its benefit. It has ascended to the source of things, inquired into the modifications and reasons of existence, and investigated God's moral government of the world.

The grand result flowing from the spirit of this epoch is told in the fact of individual advancement. The science of political economy originated from the activity of this spirit. That science was unknown to the Greeks and Romans. They never dreamed of dividing themselves into producing, distributing and consuming classes. Indeed they could not, for they all formed the consuming class. Their labor was performed by slaves, and hence was degraded, and incapable of rising to the dignity of a science. It was left to this epoch to develop the individual spirit in all the various departments of industry. To facilitate its operations, the numerous and diversified objects of individual pursuit have been subdivided into their distinct and appropriate classes. The division of labor has been regarded as the true barometer, indicating, with unerring certainty, the degree towards perfection to which every social system has advanced. This extreme division has resulted in giving, or tending to give, to every person employment; in presenting to every one a choice of employment; in extending the comforts and conveniences of life to the greatest possible number; in producing a mutual intercourse between man and man; in rendering all the parts of society reciprocally dependent on each other, thus consolidating the whole by the strongest of earthly bonds—the bond of interest.

But notwithstanding the triumphs of Industry during this epoch; notwithstanding the proud trophies it has

handed down to us as the fruits of its herculean efforts, it had not yet achieved its complete enfranchisement from its previously enveloped condition. Its union with Government was still too clearly perceptible in the adoption of restrictive systems by most of the European powers, thus limiting its beneficial results, by restraining its freedom of action. Industry can only find its best possible distribution, and its greatest quantity of encouragement, when all the markets of the world are freely open to its products.

Humanity, during this and the previous epoch, had attained much, but not all. She had not yet reached her acme. Her highest point of attainment, her last separation, yet lay in another hemisphere.

We had seen a successive separation and gradual development of human elements. Society, Philosophy, Art and Industry, except one remaining point of union, had successively achieved their enfranchisement, and inscribed, in enduring characters, on the historic page, the results of their progressive development. We were yet to see Industry completely disenthralled. We were yet to see the only remaining separation, that of Religion from Government.

We had seen a lifeless inertia characterizing the first epoch of our history; a spirit of national movement pervading the second; and individual enterprise and activity, restrained, however, by governmental interference, enlivening the third. We were yet to see carried more extensively into practical operation, the

important doctrine that this world was made for individuals, not for nations. We were yet to see the great truth universally acknowledged and received, that all the possible developments of human nature in Industry, in Religion, in Government, in Society, in Philosophy and in Art, are far better made in accordance with the laws enacted by its Author, than under those imposed by governmental or any other agency.

A new portion of our earth was required for this last separation, and for the further progressive development of human elements. In finding it, humanity, to be consistent with her former movements, must travel westward. She did so, and found a new hemisphere awaiting her coming.

I shall not describe the physical adaptations of the New World to the highest developments of history. Its towering mountains, its spreading lakes, its noble rivers, its waving forests and its matchless prairies seem to have been kept in reserve, to preside in all their virgin beauty over the final separation of human elements, and to open up in exhaustless treasures to their ever onward and unceasing development.

We are here called upon to witness the separation of the last elements that still remained in a state of combination. Government and Religion had continued bound together during all the three previous epochs. The throne and the altar had been inseparable companions. So very intimate had been their union, both in fact and in idea, that when in 1789 the people of

France overturned the throne, they also, at the same time, overthrew the altar; not comprehending how it was possible for the one to exist separate from the other. And Napoleon, when he reëstablished the one, restored also the other.

Here was sundered the bond of their union. Government was called upon to account to man; man only recognized his accountability to his God. The last lingering tie that connects Industry with Government is also being gradually sundered in the slow but progressive rejection of the restrictive system.

Well might humanity hold a jubilee upon the final separation of her elements. Well might she pause upon upon this proud pinnacle of her attainment, this elevated Himaleh of her world, and examine the successive steps of her progress hither. The world had been the theatre of her action; time the chronicler of her acts; nations and individuals her actors. She had traveled over the fallen column; the mouldering monument; the sepulchral city; the ruined state; the demolished kingdom; the dismembered empire. At her bidding the nation had appeared upon her theatre; performed its part in developing the grand plot in her drama; retired behind the scene. It disappeared when it had nothing more to perform; when its mission was accomplished; when the condition was complied with under which its existence had been permitted. Every important step in her advancement had required a sacrifice. Greece and Rome had retired to give place to the

modern European movement. Nations had disappeared to make room for the race. All had been losers except herself. Her progress had been onward still, whether she encountered society or solitude, the city's hum or the empire's grave.

I have thus asked your attention, somewhat in detail, to the successive separation of these elements. The object has been both to obtain a more perfect acquaintance with the elements themselves, and also to show that their separation from each other has formed a part of the order of Providence. It is, however, their development that is to task the pen of the philosophical historian; and in reference to this, I shall only ask your indulgence in a few additional remarks.

There are two modes in which it is possible to seek this development. These are in no respect contradictory to each other. Indeed, they are entirely consistent, and may furnish each to the other mutual aid and support. And yet they differ essentially in the stand-points from which the investigations are pursued; in the character of mind fitted for their successful prosecution; in many of the subjects themselves that come under discussion, and in the manner in which they all are introduced and unfolded.

By the one mode, the different elements themselves are taken up in succession as substantive matters of investigation. They are each considered in reference to the wants they respectively supply; to the foundations upon which they rest; to their several embodi-

ments and culminating points. The element of Industry, for instance, would be considered in reference to its supply of physical wants; to the idea upon which it reposes—that of the useful; to all the possible branches of industry which men are capable of pursuing; to the natural order of succession in which these branches should follow each other; to the relations which they respectively bear to each other; to the physical conditions of the country in which they are carried on; to the physical powers and energies of those who embark in their prosecution, and to the method, instruments and various aids by which they are severally conducted. And so, generally, in regard to the other elements. This I would style the Germanic method, as it is in harmony with the general character of the German mind.

By the other mode, the different nations or peoples who have furnished either, or all, the historical evidences to which I have referred, are taken up in succession, and the investigation is carefully gone into to ascertain how far, and in what respects, each has developed the different elements. This may rest satisfied with a less adventurous mind than the other, and is more Anglo-Saxonish in its character.

If inquired of, therefore, how I would study or teach history, I would return, for answer, that I should endeavor:

1. To settle clearly how many, and what, are the great elements of humanity, insisting that they should,

all together, be exhaustive, giving employment, in their separation and development, to every possible human power and energy.

2. To inquire into their successive separation from each other—the great historical epochs to which this separation has given birth; the characteristic features of each epoch, and the theatre, or region of the globe, to which the events that compose it have been chiefly limited.

3. I would take up and exhibit the two great divisions of men, the nomadic or wandering, and the settled or civilized; giving, as far as known, the history of the former, but with the view, more particularly, of ascertaining how their action and influence have affected the latter.

4. So far, at least, as regards the Iranian and Semitic races, as contradistinguished from the Turanian, I would give the results arrived at by ethnology; as I feel entirely convinced that national development can never be fully unfolded until the elements, the races that originally composed the nation, are thoroughly investigated and understood.

5. Leaving the extreme orient, where the elements have always existed in a state of envelopment, I would take up that ancient people, or, more properly perhaps, those peoples, composing the old Iranian empire, including what is more generally known under the Assyrian, Babylonian and Persian empires. Not that I regard these as identical in character, yet as each successively

held dominion over substantially the same territory, it may be very well to consider them together. In considering these, and the others to which I shall subsequently allude, I would

1. Invoke physical geography, so far as to get a clear idea of the general principles that have presided over the formation of the country; with the view more especially of determining to what character of mind, and kinds of industry, its physical arrangements are adapted.

2. I would study the nation or nations that have here flourished; limiting all inquiries, however, to acts done in a sovereign capacity. Such would be its negotiations, treaties, wars, and other national acts; including, also, a brief reference to its representative men. The object to be kept constantly in view is not to give a full narrative of events, but rather to state the facts out of which the events have issued, thus showing the relations either of causation or of succession existing between them. In this manner, we should endeavor to trace the origin of historical events, the frequently hidden causes of those results that are more obvious and easily understood. The principle here assumed is the same as that lying at the foundation of international law, viz., that the state or nation is a moral person, and its acts moral acts, whatever be the political machinery through which its sovereignty is developed. The history to which we should here confine ourselves would be in the nature of a personal history, somewhat analo-

gous to that of individuals. In this manner, I think, we should come better to understand *the nation* in its origin, youth, manhood, old age and death.

3. What is by far the most difficult task of all, I would inquire as to what has been the kind, character, direction, extent and amount of development of these peoples in the six elements of humanity:

1. In what particular channels has their industry been directed; what have been their principal industrial pursuits; what the order of their succession, and their relations with each other.

2. What have been their religious beliefs; what the deities worshiped; what the forms of worship; what the instruments through which it was performed, and the influence of their religious faith upon the character of the people.

3. What has been the form of government; what the distribution of political forces; what the relation between these forces, the checks, if any, established; the way and manner in which they have shaped themselves in action; the general system of law under which the operations of society have been carried on.

4. What has been the state of society, the manners and customs of the people; the sports in which their grave or gladsome spirit has indulged; the forms of social intercourse; the rites and ceremonies that have presided over marriage, death and burial; the main characteristics of that ceaseless life ebullition caused by the constant promptings of the social instinct.

5. What has been the nation's thought, its philosophy; who have been its great thinkers; how, wherein, in what direction, to what extent, have they developed the pure reason; what have been their systems of philosophy, what the succession of those systems; what the effect produced by them upon the nation's character.

6. What has been the nation's art; wherein has its thought been realized in some form of beauty or sublimity; how spread upon canvass, how chiseled in marble, how designed in architecture; how has it melted in music, glowed in poetry, fascinated in eloquence; how has it mimicked life upon the stage, and marshaled armies upon the battle-field; how, in fine, developed itself in that infinitude of artistic creations that tend to assimilate man to God and earth to Paradise.

By faithfully gathering up and presenting all that can be collected from the evidences upon which the truth of history rests, in relation to the developments of the people in these six elements of humanity, we certainly possess ourselves of all that went to constitute the life of that people. And if sufficient were obtainable, we could reproduce them and their institutions in all their primitive freshness, and look upon them now as if we were one of their own contemporaries.

I would follow out the same course in relation to Egypt, to Arabia, to Palestine, to Phœnicia, and then successively to Greece, Rome, Modern Europe, and Anglo-Saxon America.

Such a course, fully and faithfully carried out, would result in presenting a record of man and his institutions, his acts and his thoughts, in giving a history of his civilization in both its aspects; the one regarding the interior development of the individual mind, and the other the progress of society, the advance of man, the full and complete development of the human mind. The past would once more live not alone in its deeds, but also in its thoughts and institutions. We could satisfactorily ascertain what were the contributions furnished to civilization by each nation and people and race. We could, in reference to human attainment, define with greater precision the empires of the certain, the probable, the possible. We should present kinds and varieties of knowledge, fitted for all stations, conditions and occupations in life. We should furnish materials for solving profound problems in morals, in metaphysics, in religion, in government, in all the social relations. We should draw systematically, from the great storehouse of the past, those lessons that would furnish to the present its wisdom, to the future its prophecy. We should familiarize the mind with the great fact of human progress in all the possible developments of which man's varied nature is susceptible. We should lift history from the mere narrative of events, often without cause or consequence, into the region of ideas, the domain of significances. We should surround it with all that can captivate, enliven, illustrate. We should evolve from it, in systematic

order, all that God has implanted in man, whether physical, intellectual, æsthetic, moral or spiritual. We should bring it within the empire of cause and effect, and thus place it in the same category with physics and morals. Thus elevated and ennobled, we should find it as impossible to banish God from history, as we should from creation or the plan of redemption.

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